Li Lettner L-S (1868-9) 18827 AV2 Dard AV2

resources of that Paradise on earth, and killed the intellectual and moral life of its people. The administration of justice and the collection of the taxes in Dardistan are carried on, the former with some show of respect for religious injunctions, the latter with sole regard to whatever the tax-gatherer can immediately lay his hand upo

I. HABITATION.

Most of the villages, whose names I have given elsewhere, are situate on the main line of roads which, as everywhere in Himalayan countries, generally coincides with the course of rivers. The villages are sometimes scattered, but as a rule, the houses are closely packed together. Stones are heaped up and closely cemented, and the upper story, which often is only a space shielded by a cloth or by grass-bundles on few poles, is generally reached by a staircase from the outside.* Most villages are protected by one or more watch-forts, which—with the exception of the Gilgit fort—are rude blockhouses, garnished with rows of beams, behind which it is easy to fight as long as the place is not set on fire. Most villages also contain an open space, generally near a fountain, where the villagers meet in the evening and young people make love to each other† Sometimes the houses contain a subterranean apartment which is used as a cellar or stable—at other times, the stable forms the lower part of the house and the family live on the roof under a kind of grass-tent. In Ládák, a little earth heaped up before the door and impressed with a large wooden seal, was sufficient, some years ago, to protect a house in the absence of its owner. In Dardistan bolts, etc., show the prevailing insecurity. I have seen houses which had a courtyard, round which the rooms were built, but generally all buildings in

* *Vide* my comparison between Dards buildings, etc., and certain excavations which I made at Takht-i-Bahi in Yusufzai in 1870.

† Seduction and adultery are punished with death in Chilás and the neighbouring independent Districts. Morality is, perhaps, not quite so severe at Gilgit, whilst in Yasin, Hunza, and even in Nagyr before 1886, great laxity is said to prevail.

St Andrews L-S (1868-93) 1893? AVS Dard AVS

Dardistan are of the meanest description—the mosque at Gilgit in which I slept one night whilst the Sepoys were burying two or three yards away from me, those who were killed by the so-called rebels, being almost as miserable a construction as the rest. The inner part of the house is generally divided from the outer by a beam which goes right across. My vocabulary will show all the implements, material, etc., used in building, etc. Water-mills and windmills are to be found.

Candles were an unknown commodity till lately. I have already referred to the wine and treasury cellars excavated in the mountains, and which provided the Dards with food during the war in 1866, whilst the invading Kashmir troops around them were starving. Baths (which were unknown till lately) are sheltered constructions under waterfalls: in fact, they are more sheltered douche-baths. There is no pavement except so far as stones are placed in order to show where there are no roads. The rooms have a fire-place, which at Asore (where it is used for the reception of live coals) is in the middle of the room. The conservancy arrangements are on the slope of the hills close to the villages, in front of which are fields of Indian corn, etc.

3. DIVISIONS OF THE DARD RACES

The name of Dardistan (a hybrid between the "Darada" of Sanscrit writings and a Persian termination) seems now to be generally accepted. I include in it all the countries lying between the Hindu Kush and Kaghan (lat. 35° N. and long. 75° E. to lat. 35° N., long. 74° 30' E.). In a restricted sense the Dards are the race inhabiting the mountainous country of Shinaki, detailed further on, but I include under that designation not only the Chilisis, Astoris, Gilgitis, Darelis, etc., but also the people of Hunza, Nagyr, Yasin, Chitral and Kafiristan.* As is the case with uncivilized races generally, the Dards have no name in common, but call each Dard

* Since writing the above I have discovered that the people of Kandia—an unexpected race and country lying between Asore and the Indus—are Dards and speak a Dialect of Shina, of which specimens are given elsewhere in the "Races of the Hindukush." (See Appendix IV.) The tribe living on the left bank of the Kandia river is called by its neighbours "Dard."

In Lahore 1-6 (1886-88) 1897 AVS Dad AVS

Kohistani.	Pushtu Tan Arsiran Lamiriah)
a. To-morrow night to Lahore I will go.	a. To-morrow night to Lahore I will go.
Dusujo rati Lahore bajimam.	*Saba shqia ke Lahore shcam.*
a. Thou alone he.	a. Thou alone he.
Tsho shai gudu.	*Tuh shqi shai.*
b. Pregnant, O young man.	b. Pregnant he, O young man.
Jukti mardu.	*Zandkai she mshrai.*

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There is a song very common in Kohistan which begins—

Palus kuisi mardga, Putsun jirga kadga, Jukti jukai mushuk pregde mudka

"In Palus a junior was killed, in Putsu the jirga (or tribal assembly) sat."

"The complaint (*Jirga of Malaks*) took a hollow, and conclusion was ignored." The Afghans are called Putsun.

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Religion.—They have been converted to Islam since four or five generations, and they have forsaken their old religion so completely that no sign of it now remains; and when a Kohistani is told that they are "new Muslims," that is, "new Mohammedans," he becomes angry.

779

Muslim learning and the building of mosques have become common in 793
Kohistan, and now we find twenty or thirty learned mullas in every considerable town, besides hundreds of students, studying in mosques.

Dress.—Their national dress consists of a woollen hat, laimmed like 291
that of Europeans, and a loose woollen coat having a long slit along the right breast, so that one can easily get out the right hand to which one's arms in a fight. Their trousers are also made of wool and are very tight. In the summer they wear a kind of hempen shirt borrowed from the Afghans, but in the winter they wear a kind of loose coat made of goat (the straw of rice) reaching to the knees. They call it "pūshtū."

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The very lucky their only arms were a small "khanjar" (dagger), 411
lance and arrows; but they have borrowed the use of guns and long swords 177
from the Afghans.

The dress of their women consists of a loose woollen head-dress with 291
silken fringes, a woollen vest and blue or black trousers of cotton cloth, which they call "shalwars." Generally their women work with their husbands as I've seen before, and do not live confined to their houses.

701

Government.—They have no chiefs like the Afghans, but influential Maliks lead them to battle, who are paid no tribute, salary, etc.

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When an enemy enters their country they collect as shortly after the sound is heard, for safety; then the whole tribe assembles in one place for the defence of their country, with their respective Maliks at their heads.

Mode of Living, and other Social Customs.—As winter they live in the val- 193
leys, in houses made of wood and stones; but in summer they leave their 221
houses in the valleys for those on the peaks of mountains, and the most of the population spends the summer in the cooler region; but those who cultivate the land live the whole day in the valley, and when night comes go up to their houses on the heights. Their food is the bread of wheat, 243
and milk furnished by their herds of cattle (goats, cows, goats, and 923
sheep), which is their sole property. There are no regular Banks even 000

[illegible] G-8 (1873-1878) 1880 [illegible]
Acc Dard Acc

from Ghiar to Usbun, where Khowar is in consequence beginning to be spoken. The Bushkarik people are divided into three clans, the Moulanor, Koutchkhor, and Joghior. They say that they have been Mussulmans for nine generations, and the peculiar customs still common among the Shins do not exist among them. Till somewhat recently they used to expose their dead in coffins on the tops of hills. The Bushkar dialect[1] approaches more nearly to modern Punjabi than any other of the Dard languages; but in some respects seems to show some affinity to the dialects of the Siah Posh.

The Bushkarik intermarry with the Torwalik, but not with their other neighbours. Forts are not in use among them, but their villages are built in a peculiar fashion for safety. A hill side with a suitable slope is selected, against which the houses are built in a succession of terraces rising one above the other, so that the flat roof of each house is on a level with the floor of the one above it. The whole are connected by an outer wall, within the confines of which is a labyrinth of passages, and the site is often selected so that a stream of water runs through the mass of buildings. All the houses are built of wood, and those on the outside of the village have no parapets. Bushkar is said to be very thickly wooded, and the trees are said to grow to an unusual size.

[1] See Appendix B.

In Draw G-3 (1862-1872) 1871 AVI Kashmir
Dard AVI

The lower part of the valley, occupied by Gilgit, is from one to three miles wide; it is bounded on each side by steep rocky mountains; the valley itself contains stony alluvial plateaux of various form, and various level above the river, which flows in cliffs more or less in them; the greater part of this space is arid and barren, but, as usual, in front of each side ravine is a cultivated space, watered by the side stream, on which is a collection of houses. The line of mountains on the south-west side of the valley is divided most regularly by these ravines; between each of them the steep rocky masses narrow as they rise. On the north-east side the mountains are of an enormous size; they are well seen from the ridge separating the Ile and Gilgit valleys; the rocky spurs lead back to lofty snowy peaks, one of which is over 25,000 feet in height. In front of each ravine on that side, too, is the wide-spread alluvial fan, with a portion of it watered and cultivated. There the mountains are completely bare, but on the south-west side, high up above the lower cliffs, is a growth of pine-wood.

The village of Gilgit is on one of the watered tracts on the right bank of the river; here the cultivated ground is not part of the fan of a side stream, but is on the flat plain of the river alluvium, which makes a terrace 30 or 40 feet above the water. The cultivation occupies the space of a square mile or so, extending from the river bank to the mountains; the irrigating water comes from the nearest side stream. The houses here, as also in *Astor*, are flat-topped; they are scattered over the plain in twos and threes among groups of fruit-trees, having been rebuilt in this way after the destruction that occurred in the various wars to which Gilgit has been subject; it will take long for the village to recover the abundance of fruit-trees which used to prevail. The fort of Gilgit is the Maharaja's chief stronghold in Dardistán. It has been at different times taken, destroyed, rebuilt, added to, and altered. In 1870, when I was there, the appearance of it from the south-west was as represented in the sketch on the next page. The central part with the high towers (one of them loftier than the rest) was built by the ruler Gaur Rahmán during his second reign in Gilgit when the Maharaja Gulab Singh's troops had been for a

Is Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

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leads a thousand feet or more above; again, in winter, they can sometimes be turned by twice fording the river.

That we have here come to a country exposed to the attacks, or, at all events, the alarms, of surrounding enemies is shown by the arrangement of the villages. At Sher itself, and from that place onwards, all the villagers, with their wives and families and their cattle, live within the fort; village and fort are here synonymous. *Sher Fort* is the strongest hereabouts; it has one face to the bank of the river, whence its supply of water cannot be cut off; all four sides are lofty walls with towers, much in the style of the inner work at Gilgit, but not quite so regularly built. Inside, the whole area is covered, huts are built over it all; these huts are mostly of three stories, the lowest is occupied by the cattle, the second is the usual dwelling-place, and the third is the summer living place; they are lighted by small openings in the roofs. The Raja has a nice set of rooms in one corner. Besides the country-people, there are 100 irregular sepoys of the Maharaja's army quartered in the fort; they occupy the part next to the walls, while the villagers have the centre. Thus the place is very much crowded. *Bubar*, which is also on the left bank, some 15 miles up (6000 feet above the sea), is in the same way a place where the villagers live in the fort; this is a large and prosperous village thick in fruit-trees. Vine is much cultivated; it is grown in small vineyards with the plants at irregular distances, many being old trees; the whole of the vineyard is covered with a framework of sticks supported at a height of from two to four feet above the ground, and over this the vines are trained; some of these vineyards are immediately beneath the walls; they are considered as a good defence to the fort; I think it more likely that the fort is a good defence to the vineyards, which are apt to suffer in a war. Bubar Fort is not quite so strong as Sher, still it is reckoned one of those which cannot be taken by force—the alternative, treachery, is not an uncommon weapon in these countries. *Gulmuti*, *Singal*, and the other villages in this part of the valley, have the dwellings similarly enclosed in forts.

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The people of Astor and Gilgit among the

surprised if they were told that they were Dards living in Dardistán, and their neighbours of Hunza-Nagar and Yasin would be equally astonished. If consulted, they would probably describe their country as Shináka, or the land of the Shins, where Shiná is the spoken language. They are an Aryan people, mostly built, cheery, honest, frugal, and sober. They are devoted to polo, and are fond of dancing. The inhabitants of Astor wear a peculiar head-dress: a bag of woollen cloth, half a yard long, which is rolled up outwards at the edges until it gets to the size to fit comfortably to the head, round which the roll makes a protection from cold or from rain, nearly as good as a turban. Their houses are small, with very small doors, and are usually built out from the mountain side. Warmth is the one consideration. The Astoris have some very peculiar customs. Drew notices that they hold the cow in abhorrence. They will not drink cow's milk, nor will they burn cow-dung, the universal fuel of the East, and in a pure Shin village no one will eat fowls or touch them. They practise inoculation for small-pox, their one epidemic. The people of Astor are Musalmáns, two-thirds being of the Sunni persuasion, and the rest being either Shiahs or Maulais. There is no religious intolerance in Astor.

Drew mentions the following caste divisions: Rons, Shins, Yashkun, Kremins, and Dums. As regards the Rons caste, he says that there are a small number of families in Gilgit. Biddulph, in his *Tribes of the Hindu Koosh*, states that it forms 6 per cent. of the Gilgit population, and that it is the most honoured caste of all, ranking next to Mukhpuns or the Rájá caste of Dardistán. The majority of the Astoris belong to the Yashkun caste, and the Shins are few in number, under 3,000. They are more numerous in Gilgit, the total number of Shins, according to the Census, being 7,733. The Shins are regarded with great respect by the Yashkuns and the other castes. The Yashkuns claim the Shins as their forefathers. The Shins give their daughters to Rons and to Saiyids, but take wives from the Yashkuns. *Far away* in Central Ladákh, in the Hanu valley, live other Dards of the Buddhist religion. They have retained the Aryan type of the country whence they came and its Shiná dialect, but they wear the pigtail and the Ladákhi cap. It is said that, though Buddhist by name, they really worship local spirits and demons. They practise polyandry, but they will not eat with Tibetan Buddhists, and, like the Shins in Dardistán, they hold the cow in abhorrence.

In Gilgit, as in Astor, there are few social subdivisions, for